wearing my vestment and with the blessed sacrament in my hand. I brought my small ciborium filled with consecrated wafers. I used these wafers for my own communion at the beginning of each day, which I took in secret, for I was alone among them and I dared not say a mass in front of them. When I was close I heard their false goddess fall down on her back -- for since this boye was a woman her god had the form of a woman. She wept, screamed, and had a fit of anger for a quarter of an hour while I was there. The Caribs who heard it as I did were so dismayed that they did not know what to do. I left the scene, God not having inspired me to do more; and I was absolutely certain that this was a true devil and that the boye woman was a true magician. I never attempted to hear nor to write down her song and her devil's pact. After my departure this arrogant spirit in her anger shouted (speaking of me), "Quickly, tie him up quickly for he may escape me! I want to eat his head, his shoulders, his feet, and even his excrement. I want to crush him. I want to reduce him to mush. I want to swallow him." The Caribs, afterwards, often quoted these words to me, imitating the god's fury and laughing about it. [216]

A boye referring to another whom he has made a boye like himself says "I have given him a god." I do not know if the boye gives a a god immediately to the other one, or if upon making his devil appear, he makes a pact with him to give a god to the other man. I have not been curious to know this information. But I well know that they made Charlotte, the daughter of Captain Baron, fast for a long time in order to become a boye. I impeded this proceeding because I knew that she was about to turn Christian. For this reason I ordered a person who was with me to say his beads every day to keep her from becoming a boye. This plan succeeded so completely that neither the boye nor his devil was able to have any power over her. [286]

There is in the belief of the Caribs as much difference between ichéiri [guardian spirit] and maboya as there is among us between God and the devil. It is unknown among them to offer sacrifices to maboya, although in truth both gods are real devils, and one who sacrifices to ichéiri sacrifices to the devil. The boyes make other people boyes. A person who wishes to become a boye fasts, and afterwards the boye calls

[782]

601 They call each other by terms which signify degrees of kinship on the father's side or by marriage, as father, brother, cousin; others they call companion [compère].

551 572 They never name a person by his name, particularly if he is related. If they are compelled to name him, they say only half of the word. They often adopt the name of someone with whom they have contracted a particular friendship or companionship.

198 They have a jargon or special language (1) which they use in

1. Rom. version: "corrupt language."

dealing with us, and which is Spanish, French, and Carib all mixed up together.

[50] CHAPTER III

Their Religion, or Rather Superstitions

782 [771] It is better to say that the Caribs have no religion, because they do not even know the word for it, nor for prayer, church, or worship. They recognize, however, something in the way of a deity to which they render some duty, not by any love but merely for fear he will do them some harm. At the beginning of every revel or feast, they offer him the first morsels of the banquet. In a corner they put a matoutou (which is a sort of low stool made of rushes like their baskets) for him and place the best cassava they have upon it, along with gourds full of ouicou [a kind of beer], which is their usual drink. They do the same when they clear a wood to make a garden. They believe that this god eats what they offer him. Even though they find it as they left it, they say it is not the same. They believe there are [776] male and female among the gods, who are many. They often consult them, whether for the success of their wars or for the end of their sicknesses. The gods answer them, but here is how: there are 756 787 several of the Caribs, men and women, who are devoted and consecrated to these gods from their early youth, and who alone make them appear and speak to them. They are called boi'é [boyé] or boi'al'ko, and they fast for a long time and abstain from many things.

756 forth his false god who gives the new boye a god of his own. If the
776 new boye is a man, his god is a man. If the new boye is a woman, her god is a goddess, or to be more exact a devil who reveals itself or is heard as a woman. They never say that this god is the god of the savages, but rather it is the god of such and such a boye. They don't know how to pray to him because they don't even have the word [772] for prayer in their language. However, they never have a drinking party without making an offering either because they believe that having called the gods, they will come by this means, or because they believe that the gods multiply their manioc. It is necessary to present them with the first fruits. Finally it could be that they fear them. These gods have numerous offspring and these children have children. These all come to drink the offerings. One of these gods says that he was formerly an Arawak, another says he was from a different nation. Some of them are young and some old, some are men and others women. According to what they say, they cause storms and give evils such as gout which cannot be cured by the ordinary Carib. They give orders to the boyes telling them which herbs to pick to remedy these ills, and these gods are considered by the Caribs to be very powerful. [283]

The following is the boldest deception of the boyes. When they are called to cure some swelling which has developed on the knees or another joint, they suck the spot and draw the evil out by sucking -- that is what they say. Sometimes they spit out stones, tips of arrows or ray tails, etc. The boye invents the story that the god of another boye has shot the arrow into the sick person and caused the affliction. The patient firmly believes this, as do all others who think they have been cured by this means. If they have some nice caracoli ornament they are expected to give it to the boye as a reward for such a crude and stupid invention. [167]

916 When the boye causes his god, or more exactly his devil, to
782 descend, a wicker table loaded with cassava is placed as an offering. This is done when the boye asks for remedies. An offering is also made when the sick person on whom the god has descended is cured by this means. An offering is made to the god because it is believed that he has given health or made the manioc grow. This is a sacrifice or an act of idolatry. [56, 83]

After the god of a boye has drunk well he says "I am drunk, much hindered, and embarrassed." When a sacrifice is offered to him he calls his companions. They drink up the contents of all of the large pots, or at least pretend to do so. When they wish to leave, they practice a deception upon the hearing of the assembly. They tip their calabash drinking cups back into the large pots, and according to the sound it makes you might think that the pots are empty. However, the next morning these same pots are full which seems to the Caribs to be a great miracle. The old men and the most important among them gather to drink it. But the false gods have ordered it to be drunk upon an empty stomach, and also under the condition that they have not touched their wives during the night. You might judge it to be a monkey trick of the devil to imitate our sacrament. [148]

The Caribs believe that the moon is a man, and that once upon a time the moon saw a girl while she was asleep and he made her pregnant. This obliged the mother to give the girl a person to watch over her. The guardian surprised the moon one night and blackened him with genipap, in order to recognize the culprit. The Caribs say this is the reason for the spots on the moon which appear today. The child born from the girl was named Hiàli, and he later laid the first foundations of the Carib nation. The hummingbird was chosen to carry Hiàli to his father, and having faithfully performed its task, it obtained as a reward a beautiful crest for its head and its feathers were turned many colors. [293] The boyes have enough temerity to claim that they fly up to the moon in the heavens. One day a boye told me about his trip there. I recognized his foolishness when he said the moon looked like open rocks with trickling water everywhere. It is even sometimes said that their false gods raise them visibly and that the roof of the house opens itself to let them through it. The simple people do not understand that this is done by magic, and so they say with great admiration "he has wings." [234] The false gods address the Caribs as huéyou-ago in order to flatter them. These false gods do not call them "under the moon" but rather "over the sun," if I may express myself in this way. [263]

The Caribs have never heard about Pythagorus, but nevertheless they seem to be imbued with the idea of metempsychosis, for they have an expression which means "men do not become stones." [189] They do not know what it is to pray to God, although they believe it to be

782 right to do it. They apologize for not having been accustomed to doing it, and they have borrowed our word for prayer, apourieroutoni, but have added the ending of their verb and noun. [433] When
825 lizards, animals, or birds accidentally perch on their houses or near by, as if they were tame, they do not dare to touch them. They say that these are birds which belong to the gods of the boyes, and if the Caribs killed these animals the gods would kill them in turn. [341]

776 The maboyas are evil spirits. The Caribs have no knowledge of the creation nor of the end of the world, nor of angels nor devils. They fear the maboyas, however, and the oumécou about whom they have told me stories which I consider fables. When I tried to make them understand who the devil was, I called him maboya in order that they would firmly believe what I told them, since they have so much hatred for maboyas. [424]

000 It has been wrongly said that two Caribs taken to France had renounced their faith. One of these obtained permission to visit his parents and he died there a little while after his return. The other one requested me to live near him until his death, offering to feed me and to have a chapel built for me. [360]

761 If death is terrible to other men, I have seen that among the Caribs it seems more than terrible. It is so among those who have a conscience filled with remorse over the evil that they know they have done. For, believing in the immortality of the soul, they are fearful of the punishments which might confront them according to their faults. No one can console them at this time. They die with strange grieving and with bitterness of heart. As soon as they are dead, they
764 are painted red, their hair is arranged, and they are wrapped in a good cotton hammock -- if they are important. They then make a round hole in the middle of the house at a depth suitable to the posture that they have given them, which is the posture they had in the womb of their mother. They lower them into the hole, placing them on a plank which has been put there and cover them with another on which they throw the dirt. They shed tears and sing sadly of their sorrow and their regret. This continues late at night and at dawn for a number of days. They don't forget the custom of putting bread and wine upon the grave, nor that of maintaining a fire around the grave for a
765 long time. At the end of a year they return to weep, and lifting up the planks they throw earth on the consumed corpse. They trample down the earth and drink the rest of the day and night. Sometimes they move out of their houses and habitations, as I have seen them do after the death of their captain, Henri Comte. [237]

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
ST13 Callinago ST13

and large buttocks, and most of them in good plight. Their mouths are not over large, and their teeth are perfectly white and close. True it is, their complexion is of an olive color, naturally; their foreheads and noses are flat, not naturally, but by artifice; for their mothers crush them down at their birth, as also during the time they suckle them, imagining it a kind of beauty and perfection. . . . They have large and thick feet, because they go barefoot, and withal so hard that they defie woods and rocks. . . . They believed in evil spirits, and sought to propitiate them by presents of game, fruits, etc. They believe that they have as many souls as they feel beatings of the arteries in their bodies, besides the principal one, which is in their heart, and goes to heaven with its god, who carries it thither, to live with other gods; and they imagine they there live the same life as man lives here below. For they do not think the soul to be so far immaterial as to be invisible; but they affirm it to be *subtile*, and of thin substance, as a purified body; and they have but the same word to signify heart and soul. Other souls, not in the heart, reside in the forest and by the seashore; the former they called *Mabouyas*, the latter *Oumekou*. . . . They believe they go after death to live in certain fortunate islands, where they have Arrowak slaves to serve them, swim unwearied in placid streams, and eat of delicious fruits. . . . Of the thunder, God's voice, they are extremely afraid. They were prone to leave their houses (huts) after the death of an inmate. It is related, that a young Carib, having been converted to Christianity and taken to France, where he was shown many strange things, at which he showed no astonishment, returned to his tribe, threw off the clothes of civilization, and painted his body with *roucou*, becoming as wild a savage as before. . . . As to the division of labor, the men made the huts and kept them in repair, procured fish and game, also labored some in the fields; the women attended to the domestic duties, painted their husbands with roucou, and spun the cotton yarn, wove hammocks, etc,

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
ST13 Callinago ST13

plained of pains, went to a separate hut, and lay in a hammock."[38] Breton has answered this last statement by saying: "it is not likely that the husband should cry out like a woman in labour; on the contrary, I've seen them come from without, secretly and stealthily, a month after the birth, in order to make their retreat and fast."[39] This is, at least, more in accordance with all modern reports of the custom. Moreover, it is disconcerting if not misleading to insist upon the "otherness" of the father's part, after rightly noting that the restrictions affected both parents; especially since precautions similar to those characterizing the Carib's "couvade" were also taken at puberty, after the death of a relative or the slaying of an enemy, and by candidates for chieftaincy or shamanship. Breton nowhere mentions any special taboo on the names of the dead, while la Borde merely says that they were avoided so as not to evoke thoughts of death. The former does say, however, that names were not used as forms of address to any but children; and that everybody's real name was kept secret from all but intimates. And, while Breton mentions that his wife was the only woman who might eat with a man, his failure to report that even this was limited to the occasion of their marriage suggests that there was no hard and fast rule about such matters. A summary cannot include everything; but the studied omissions or contradictions of a man like Breton, who had read, before publishing his own work, the accounts of Armand de la Paix, du Puis, du Tertre, and Rochefort—all of whom had sought and obtained his advice and help—cannot well be ignored. My own article on the *Kinship and Social Structure of the Island Carib* resumés some of these points at greater length.[40]

Perhaps the most unsatisfactory part of the whole summary of Carib culture is the section on "Religion and Shamanism,"[41] which perpetuates the myth that the Carib invoked and made offerings to "the evil spirits (maboya)." Already Breton protested (and in the matter of religion, at least, he cannot be accused of prejudice in the Caribs' favor) that "There is in the belief of the Savages as much difference between Ichéiri & Mápoya as between God & devil among ourselves; and it is unheard of among them that any one should offer sacrifices to mápoya,"[42] while la Borde notes: "Ils craignent Máboia, mais ils ne lui rendent aucun culte." Thirty-five years ago Roth, in his *Animism and Folk-Lore of the Guiana Indians*, argued conclusively against this somewhat mischievous concep-

38 *Ibid.*
39 Breton, *op. cit.*, pp. 373-374.
40 Taylor, *Kinship and Social Structure; Carib Folk Beliefs.*
41 *Handbook*, pp. 561-563.
42 Breton, *Dictionaire Caraïbe-Français*, pp. 283-284.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
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Garif SA12

C 114 782

tion. Breton makes it quite clear that the offerings were made to the spirits which he calls "*Dieu* Ichéiri, Iouloúca, *f.* Chemîin," who were, in fact, spirit-helpers of both sexes, different ages, and having belonged in life to divers nations on earth. If he does not further identify the foregoing with "*esprit* acanaáincou, acámbouée, *f.* ópoyem ou oupoyem," nor speak of the body-part origin of these and of the mápoya and oumécou, it is doubtless because he lacked conclusive evidence of such beliefs. Five of the above Carib terms are employed by the modern Black Carib: the hiúruha (Breton's iouloúca) require no other definition than that given above, and are "owned" and invoked by búiai (shamans), and presented with offerings of food and drink as in days gone by. The áhambue (Breton's acámbouée) are spirits of the dead, and are now distinct from úfiē (Breton's oúpoyem), which is these people's name for a ghostly apparition emanating from a "bad person" who is dead. The máfia (máfuia, with the old people, and identical with Breton's mápoya) are malevolent bush-spirits, while the úmeu (Breton's oumécou) are mischievous but not very dangerous spirits frequenting the shore and tidal waters of the sea. There is no orthodox belief as to the origin of the last two; but rites to propitiate the hiúruha, as well as the spirits of the family dead, are still performed, though Creoles and other non-Caribs (to the indignation and scorn of the Carib themselves) still refer to them as "devil dances" or (in Spanish) "baile mafia."

C 114 782

Such rites and feasts as Breton describes certainly took more than "several days" to prepare,[43] and Breton speaks of four months in this connection. From him it appears, moreover, that except for six or eight befeathered functionaries who danced in couples, side by side and holding one another by an arm placed around the other's neck, the people danced singly, and not "arm in arm" as Rouse says.

C 114 821

Rouse cites a certain number of Carib terms, and for these at least one would expect Breton's dictionary to have been consulted. Thus, he states: "The sun (noun) was considered a male. . . . The moon (houiou) was female. . . ."[44] Breton gives huýyou (and, in the women's speech, cachi) for the *sun;* nónum (and, in the women's speech, cati) for the *moon;* treats both as masculine, and of the second says specifically: "So is *nónum* [masculine], when it means the moon, because they believe that it is a man." Also la Borde says: "They make the moon masculine, and call it *nónum.*" The story of the incestuous brother who became the moon, and of his son Hiali (to be found in the dictionary under "ierétiē"),

43 *Handbook*, p. 561.
44 *Handbook*, p. 564.

13: Hodge & Taylor
515, 754, 777, 782

Callinago ST13

[For information on ritual baths for the purposes of counter-acting sorcery, and giving good luck, see category 789]

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
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824 Varieties of this species are cultivated for their fruits throughout the warm and tropical regions of both hemispheres.

[263] The Island Caribs generally cultivate pepper plants near their houses. The fruits are utilized both as a relish and for seasoning sauces. It is also said that the expressed juice of the fruit (dropped [278] into the eyes) was used formerly in cases of ophthalmia. Pounded pepper leaves, mixed with shark oil, are employed in the making of poultices for wounds and sores.

Specimen citation: no herbarium material collected.

Nicotiana tabacum Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 180. 1753.

Tobacco, Tabac Pays. — *tábi*, *tári* (w), *tábadle* (m).

The tobacco plant, a native of tropical America is cultivated throughout the world.

[249] The Caribs grow this plant less today than formerly. Tobacco smoke is blown on ailing infants by midwives and other old women in order to make them well and strong. Tobacco juice is used as [278] an emetic, and was formerly drunk in dangerous quantities by [187] neophyte piai-men and candidates for chieftainship, both as a trial of endurance and « in order to see visions ». Powdered to- ● [782] bacco [the leaves were dried near the hearth fire (?)] was burnt on the blade of a paddle as a propitiatory offering to the « Maitre Tête-Chien » (anthropomorphic chief of all *tête-chiens*, the local boa snake (*Constrictor orophias*) and other spirits. It was also [278] used as a narcotic (for pleasure) by placing a little powder or a dried piece of the leaf, together with wood ash and moistened with sea water, between the inner surface of the lip and the gum (?).

Specimen citation: 151 (T).

Solanum melongena Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 186. 1753.

Egg Plant. — Belongène.

The egg plant is apparently native to southern Asia, but was introduced early from Spain to America (21). It is now widely cultivated in all tropical and subtropical regions.

[262 Caribs grow this species for its fruits which they eat chiefly 252] in the boiled form. The plant is sometimes grafted on the woody « batard belongène » (*Solanum torvum*).

Specimen citation: no herbarium material collected.